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412 the lower stone. In the centre there is a pivot around which the upper stone rotates. The *sil* is essentially a grindstone but is used mostly to grind spices, and mix together ingredients on the mortar-and-pestle

Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

system. The *sil* has two parts: an oblong stone 18"×12" the surface of which is roughened by being chipped; the roller, a piece of stone which is rounded and which is used something as a rolling pin, only the stone grinds and does not revolve.

An iron knife which is attached to a piece of wood and on which all the cutting of vegetables is done is usually found about the house. The user sits on the floor and cuts [516] the vegetables or meat on the knife. In the process [252] the knife is steadied by pressing the feet on the wooden attachment and thus both hands are free for work.

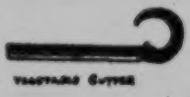

Fig. 8

415 A few baskets will always be found lying about the house. [285] These also are not manufactured by Kols. They are used for transporting things to and from the bazaar, for gathering leaves, sticks and cow-dung for fuel or plaster. Vegetables and the like may be stored in them. The winnowing basket (*supa*) is always found near the granary. This is used to clean the grains and also has its work in certain magical ceremonies which will be described further on. A sort of broom made of bamboo and grass will be found somewhere about the place.

[251] [243]

Fig. 9

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354 In one corner of the room is located the *chulha*. This is a low mud hearth with one or two fireplaces. The smoke goes into the room. [252] Here the meals for the family are cooked. Nearby are the cooking [412] vessels and an iron spoon or two for stirring the food and some tongs [415] for the fire. Somewhere will be found the large sun-dried mud urn in [251] which the wheat or rice is stored. This is rat proof and is arranged so that it may be watched for termites which do much damage in [237] villages. Some piles of fuel will be seen: dried cow-dung cakes or [462] bits of wood which have been chopped by the men of the family.

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USE OF FIRE. Matches are fast finding their way into the villages of India and as a result primitive ways of making fire are disappearing. Enquiries among Kols in sections where matches are not generally in use showed that they have two primitive methods of making fire. Even here it is not often necessary to prepare fire afresh, as it is usually

Fig. 10

kept in ignited lumps of cow-dung, which burn slowly and are not easily extinguished. It is not infrequent to see, in such villages, a woman going from one house to another taking with her a smoking piece of cow-dung to start her own fire.

The most usual method is to strike a stone against iron. The spark is directed into a bit of cotton from the *semal* tree (*Bombax malabaricum*) which is very easily ignited. Kols collect and preserve the cotton for this purpose. The second method often practised is that of rubbing together two well-dried sticks of the *pipal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*). One stick is notched. A sawing method is used, and a bit of *semal* cotton dropped into and around the notch, where the heat generated by friction ignites it. This is carefully nursed and transferred to dry leaves and grass.

FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION. Like most village and common folk in India the Kols have two meals a day : one about noon and the other late at night. Early in the morning something is usually taken before going out to work. This may consist of a *chapati* or a bit of rice left over from the night before. The two main meals are almost similar and there is usually no variation in the menu. In the season when rice is cheapest, it will form the main part of the meal ; or when wheat is the cheaper, this is eaten in the form of *chapatis*. In Rewa millet is frequently used. Along with these main articles a little vegetable curry and some pulse is usually eaten. Meats are not taken regularly as they are too expensive, but Kols eat most meats except beef. Those

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part of one, and if another person should get it he would have power over the child. Its burial is also, strangely, a proof of birth. If a Kol is asked where he was born he replies: "My *nara* is buried in...." and names the village. In a real sense a part of him is buried there and he is a part of that village. The spot is plastered over with a mixture of cow dung, earth and water, and the fire lit over it. The *hom* sacrifice may also be offered. 846 [237] 782

Any extraordinary happening at birth or anything unusual is generally considered a bad sign. For example, a child born with teeth already in its mouth is much feared, for it signifies bad luck and a member of the family, probably one of the parents, will be sure to die within a short time. They say the child has come to destroy a member of the family. An extra finger, though, is considered as a good omen. Twins seem to have no special significance attached to them and their occurrence appears to be infrequent among the Kols. 845 787

The Sixth Day Ceremony: *Chhatthi*. After six days it is believed that the greatest period of danger is over and the woman can begin to make preparations to take up her normal life. This period corresponds with the time of greatest physical danger, for by the sixth day after birth, the dreaded septicaemia, if it is to come, will make its appearance. When day has come and all is well the *dhobi* and the *nai* are usually sent for. The former takes all the soiled clothes. The wife, after a preliminary bath and anointing by the *dai*, puts on fresh clothes. The barber trims the nails of her hands and feet and puts vermilion on both her feet and the feet of her child so that no evil spirit may harm them as they make their way to the place of the ceremonial bath. Her head has been oiled with *til* oil and occasionally the child has been pricked on the stomach with a hot iron, so that "the waters may be digested". All the earthen vessels in the house should be thrown out and new ones purchased from the Kumhar, and the house should be cleaned and plastered. The *nai* also gives the male members of the family a good shave, both of the face and the head. 846 [164] [302] [415] [302]

The mother is now ready for the ceremonial bath at the village bathing place. The women of the household go there in a group accompanied by a Basor beating a drum. This is done just at sundown. The mother carries a brass vessel (*lota*) on the top of which burns an earthenware lamp (*diya*). At the place of bathing offerings are made: cocoanut, *haldi*, *supari*. Incense may be sprinkled in the fire in the lamp. Mustard seed (*rai*) is often scattered about in order to frighten off any evil spirits which may be at the place ready to injure the mother and the child. There is then a formal sort of bath, the water being [354 415] [782] [789]

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yellow *haldi* water and keeps it in a number of *lotas*. As the guests are about to depart the women appear with the *haldi* water and *kajra* (lamp-black), the latter being in the form of a paste. The yellow water is sprinkled over the departing guests and the lamp-black is applied just below the eyes. This is considered auspicious and both are believed to have a protective significance. In jest the *kajra* is sometimes applied to other parts of the face and hearty laughs and ridicule result, all of which the party must bear cheerfully. The girl's mother should sprinkle the *haldi* water on the boy's father and after she has done this and put the colour below his eyes she holds her brass *lota* before him and he is expected to drop some money into it—at least one rupee. The rest of the men are then sprinkled by the other women and are also asked to give a gift, but not as much as the father gave. The women then courteously salute and go off taking with them the *lotas* containing the coins.

For a brief time the men of the two parties remain seated together, eat *pan supari* and pass around the *hukka* for a smoke. Finally the boy's party gets up and all go to the edge of the village together where they embrace and separate. This ends the first part of the wedding cycle.

(2) *Domestic Preparations.* The time that is to elapse between the writing of the *lagan* and the *sadi* is fixed by the *lagan* itself and depends on several factors of an astrological nature. Usually there is less than a month between them. During this period there are active preparations in both houses as certain important things must be accomplished.

In the girl's village some uncooked rice coloured with *haldi* is taken around by members of the family and given to those who are to be invited to the ceremonies. With the rice the time and place of the ceremonies are made known. There should be plenty of supplies of food on hand and among the things listed there should be *sendur*, a *dauri* (small basket), new clothes, cash for small gifts and payments, rice, pulse, especially *urad* pulse (*Phaseolus radiatus*) and wheat.

(a) *Mangarmati.* The *mangarmati* or *magarmati* is a ceremony whereby a certain amount of earth is obtained from which *chulhas*, or earthen fireplaces, are to be constructed. This ceremony, which is performed at both homes and on the same night, is essentially alike in both the houses and must be performed after sunset. Only the women take part in the gathering of the sacred earth, but we were allowed to watch a *mangarmati* ceremony in the Kaimur hills. It was found that a portion of the courtyard just in front of the house had

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584 796 354 been plastered and marked somewhat according to the accompanying diagram. About eight o'clock in the evening, as we waited nearby with a group of men, the beat of the drum was heard and we went up to the thornfenced enclosure. Only women were allowed within the

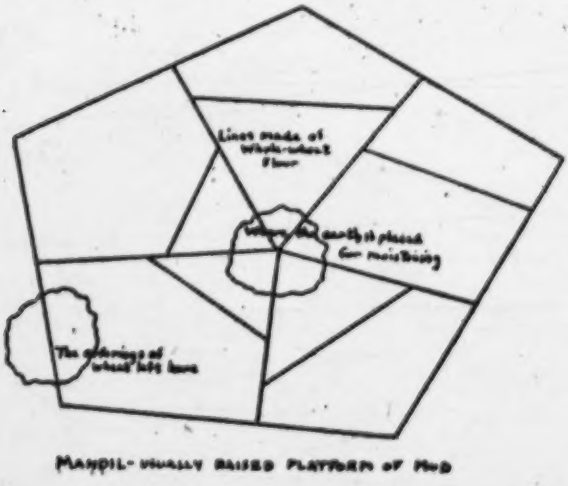

Fig. 19

courtyard, and the men had to remain outside, but a good view was had of the proceedings. The drum was played by a Chamar male, hired for this occasion, who was the only man taking any part in the ceremony. The women and children formed a procession within the [482] courtyard. There were a number of baskets (there should be seven) carried on the heads of unmarried girls, while others carried a pick (*gainti*) and a mattock (*kodali*). The leader and the first in line of the procession should either be the sister of the bride or her *phuphi*, her father's sister. On her head was an earthen jar like a brass *lota* (some- [482] times the latter may be used) which was filled with water and into which were inserted mango twigs with the leaves attached. On the top of this rested an earthen lamp, *dip*. Figure 20 shows how this was carried. With this light on her head she led the way to the place [523 539] where the earth was dug up and they sang as they proceeded. Some of the songs which were sung at Deosori in the Kaimurs are as follows:

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THE LEADER OF THE MANGARMĀṬĪ PROCESSION

Fig. 20

1. *Lanka gayi Hanuman,*
   Rama Lakshman ghar aye.
   To Lanka far went Hanuman,
   Then Ram and Lakshman came home.

2. *Mati khodain gai,*
   Bichhi mārisa haya daiya haya;
   Mati khodain gai, bisa le bahu.
   Ho daiya ho, Ho daiya ho, Ho daiya ho.

   The clay was dug,
   I was bitten by a scorpion—
   Alas, Alas!

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The clay was dug,
It poisoned me much—
Alas, Alas, Alas!

3. *Pate par bi jhiliya,*
Jhilmiliya pan.
Char Char bandra,
Ghi, roti, dei.

She stands on a rock by the lake
Her lips are shining with *pan.*
(And she says) "Come along monkey
I shall give you buttered bread."

4. *Sari dekh ke gaya sasurar,*
Aur sarhaj dekh ke lubhaya

Sari dekh ke gaya sasuriya
Dhan dekh ke lubhaya.

He went to his father-in-law's abode,
Drawn by the beauty of the bride's own sister.
But there he fell in love with the wife of the bride's brother.

Again he journeyed to his father-in-law's abode
Tempted by the beauty of the bride's own sister.
But this time he fell for the wealth of his father-in-law.

All but the first song are really directed at the bride to be, and there are certain implications not always easy to understand. In the second one the idea comes out that the girl even at the *mangarmati* time is liable to be smitten by love enroute to her digging. The third refers to the plight of a young girl caught alone, perhaps, with a tempting mouth, and a vague promise for the future. In the last song the bride is taunted with a song which implies that her lover has not really come because of her. In fact, she has no attraction for him, for it is her married sister, or her sister-in-law or the father-in-law's wealth that really draws him.

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As these songs were sung the party moved slowly forward to the spot where they were to dig; in this case it happened to be not more than seventy-five feet from the house. Upon reaching the spot they formed

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a circle and all the time sang and beat time with their hands, the Chamar accompanying them with his drum. Several of the women took part in the digging of the earth and each girl was allowed but one blow with the pick. The earth thus displaced was gathered up with the mattock and put into the baskets. It was estimated that about thirty pounds were actually brought. The group then returned to the courtyard as slowly as they went but in the reverse order, with the lamp at the rear. The earth was then thrown in the centre of a small raised platform called the *mandil*, though occasionally the *mandil* is made later on from the earth brought in at this time. After the baskets were emptied the women brought water in small earthenware vessels and each threw water on the pile of earth until it was thoroughly soaked. The women then went to another part of the courtyard where each had left a bit of wheat which they brought from their homes when they first came. This was piled at another point and as each presented her wheat the mother dipped a bit of sweet oil from her household oil-jug and gave it to the other women. After this a small cone of cowdung, which is worshipped by unmarried girls, was set up on the *mandil*. See Figure 19.

This earth should be sufficient to make either five or seven *chulhas* and they should be prepared sometime during that night. In Deosori they said that it would be done in the morning, and as it is done only by the women of the household it is likely that it was done after the people had departed. The party broke up at this point and from twenty to twenty-five women and young girls departed. This happened at 9 P.M. Occasionally there is a feast following the *mangarmati*, but there was none in this particular case.

The next day the *chulhas* constructed from this earth should be ready for the preparation of the *lawa*, a mixture of parched paddy and millet, which is considered an indispensable part of the wedding preparations. During the time of its preparation there is joking and fooling. Before they can start to parch the rice one of the male members brings a young chicken and thrusts it into the lighted *chulha*. If the chicken does not catch fire and die (that is, if the *chulha* is not hot enough) it becomes the property of the male relative, but if it dies the women take it and make it into a curry. If the chicken catches fire no effort is made to save it. The parching of rice may now begin and this should be initiated by the man who brought the chicken. The same *chulha* which was used for the burning of the chicken should not be used for the subsequent parching. As the man commences his work some of his female relatives approach him and do all they can to disturb his work and irritate him. They may throw mud at him, abuse

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(3) *The Wedding Ceremony. The Sadi.* The actual wedding is divided into three parts, each occurring on a different day and the whole lasting three days. There is first the arrival of the *barat*—the party which brings the bridegroom and which reaches the girl's village on the evening of the first day. The next part occurs on the following night and is the wedding proper, the *sadi* ; and finally the bridegroom departs for his own home on the third day and this is called the *bida* or farewell. 585

(*a*) *Barat.* A day or two after the parching of the *lawa* there are preparations at the bridegroom's house for the departure from thence for the house of the bride. The *barat* is usually so planned that it arrives at the girl's village just after dusk. The *barat* is made up entirely of men, and women are not permitted to accompany the procession. Before the *barat* can leave there is a feast given to its members by the women of the family. Following this the bridegroom is put into a *palki* or litter. The party also takes with it various things needed for the *sadi* including the *lawa*, a *barain* (small whitish-coloured earthenware pot decorated with yellow figures and in which are carried a *seer* of rice and, if in season, two mangoes), seven *dips* (earthenware lamps), and a *dahingar* (a decorated earthen pot like the *barain* in which *dahi*—curds—are kept). These things are carried by the party in baskets on their heads, but in the *palki* will be put the *sendur*, *kankan* (black and red beads strung on a thin iron wire), some toys and *gobar* (cowdung). Some one to beat the drum should accompany the party which leaves the boy's village amid music and singing. The women who remain behind are busy preparing for the return of the bridegroom and his party three days later. [562] [574] [493] [482] 585

The procession should not arrive in the village until night has fallen. Upon its arrival it does not at once enter the village, but stops some distance away and with drums and singing announces its presence. The girl's party which has been waiting the arrival of the *barat* is now summoned by her father. The women of the bride's party accompany the men in greeting the *barat* and the group proceeds to the edge of the village with lights, the person carrying the leading light being either the girl's sister or a female cousin. This light is carried on top of an earthen jar resting on the head in a manner similar to the way the light is carried at the *mangarmati* time. The men of the party bring a *chhattari*, or an umbrella made of bamboo branches and leaves from the *palasa* tree. Like the crown in Europe, the umbrella in village India is essentially a symbol of sovereignty. A *mashal*, or torch on the end of a pole is also brought and waved about in imitation of a battle. The men of the two parties now meet and greet one [354] [482] [293] [354] 574

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The bride and the bridegroom are now conducted to the *marhwa*, and the latter is seated on the low wooden stool while the former sits either on a small mat of *palasa* leaves or on a low square made of mud and cow dung on his left. The *pandit* reads some sacred words, (supposedly from the Vedas) and as he does so the couple is instructed to throw *ghi* and rice coloured with *haldi* into the sacred fire. Each time the fire blazes up the priest utters the words *swaha, swaha*, meaning 'accepted', 'accepted'. This is really a *hom* offering. The *lagan* is sometimes read again at this stage.

The couple are asked to stand together, the girl being on the left of the boy. Some of the *sendur* is passed to him which he, with a silver coin, applies to the girl's forehead. As they stand there the *pandit* makes them promise to forgive each other at least seven times during their married life. After the promise the ends of their clothes are tied together, usually by the girl's sister. Into the knot that joins the two should be put a *takka* (a two-pice coin), some *haldi* and bits of a *supari* nut. Then begins the *bhanwar* or circumambulation of the bride and bridegroom about the sacred pole. If the couple are too young to live together and the marriage is not to be immediately consummated by her going to his house, there will be but five rounds of the *magrohan* For four of the five rounds the boy walks ahead, and the wife, the ends of the clothes still tied, follows, but on the fifth round the girl precedes the boy. The fire and pole are always kept to their right and they move round them in a clockwise direction. After the completion of each round they stop and the girl puts her right foot on the *sil* (the flat stone used for grinding spices). While she stands thus her brother or a representative makes a round of the pole with the *barain* containing the remainder of the *lawa*.

After the five rounds are completed (there would have been seven had the couple been old enough to live together) the two, still tied together, retire into the house, the girl leading the way. The women in a jesting manner attempt to bar their entrance and the pair have to force their way through. Rude songs and jokes of a sexual nature are now in order. Members of both parties have been given some of the seven handfuls of *lawa* kept in the booth and this is thrown upon the couple. Inside the house a lamp (*dip*) has been left under a basket, thus giving but little light to the room. The girl's mother asks the boy to take up the basket and blow out the light. He does not consent to do this until he receives a gift from his mother-in-law. Sometimes the challenge is for him to light a second lamp from the first. When he gets the desired gift he takes off the basket, but does not blow out the light. When this is done the knot is untied and his *maur*

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on a bed, if he is on one, as on the ground, but it is mostly affirmed that the ground is the place for the dying person. The body should be put there only when it is certain that the person is about to expire. The place where the body is laid should be first plastered with cow dung if that is possible. The head should be toward the north, that is, pointing towards the sacred Ganges, and the feet to the south, for it is in that direction that the soul has to go to the land of death. Most of the graveyards are to the south of Kol villages.

As soon as it is ascertained that the person is dead the fact of death is publicly proclaimed by loud lamentations set up by members of the family. The lamentations do not seem to be linked up with the frightening away of evil spirits but are essentially a natural expression of grief; although to an outsider they may seem to be overdone. The body should not remain within the house, but should be immediately removed to a place made ready for it on the veranda or the small courtyard in front of the house. There the body is laid upon the ground and is covered with a new white cloth. Nothing is done to the body in the way of measuring its length or the tying of its toes.[1]

PREPARATIONS FOR THE FUNERAL. Immediate preparations are now begun for the funeral, which, under favourable circumstances should be underway within an hour or two. Friends prepare a bamboo sling (*talari*), made of two long bamboo poles with a few crossbars. On this the body is placed and fastened. A wooden *charpai* (rope cot) may serve just as well, and if the death occurred on one, this is used. Such a *charpai* has to be discarded anyhow, and in this case it is abandoned at the place of disposal. It is, however, immediately taken possession of by a low caste Hindu—a Basor or a Domar.

Occasionally the body is washed with a bit of cold water at the house before being transported to the place of burial or cremation. The most common procedure, though, is that the body is not washed till the funeral grounds are reached.

If the person has died in the evening, too late for immediate disposal, the body may be kept upon the earth outside the house during the whole of the night. Friends and relatives sit round the body which is regarded with awe and sometimes fear. A lamp is kept burning so that no evil spirit may get possession of the corpse and enter it in the darkness. Nevertheless no efforts are made to tie the corpse

[1] As soon as the body is laid out, some non-Kol groups measure its length and tie its big toes together in order to determine whether or not a live spirit has gained entrance to the body during the period between death and its removal to the cemetery. If a spirit has entered, the body will elongate and the thread about the toes will be broken.

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778 411 [785] 787 are very common. The trident with the sharp point is used at the time the *panda* or another is possessed of Khermai, and is pierced through the tongue or cheek.

3. *Spiked Sandals* (*Kharau*). Every well-equipped shrine should 778 787 have at least one pair of spiked sandals. These are made of pieces of wood in the shape of the sole of a shoe with sharp spikes driven through so that the person walking on them stands on the points. There is a 292 wooden peg toward the front of each which fits between the big toe and the next and holds the sandal on the foot. These are generally used at the time of the trance. When the spirit of Kalimai possesses a man, it will be evidenced by his desire to put on these sandals and jump about in them.

778 785 787 [412] 4. *Iron Tongs* (*Chimta*). There is also another kind of iron instrument found in these shrines: iron tongs used for taking coals out of the fire. When Sannyasi *dso* comes upon a man he will take the tongs and beat himself with them. Hindu ascetics usually carry tongs.

5. *Iron Lash* (*Gurda*). This is a sort of magic chain made of iron links barbed with bits of steel. The handle by which it is grasped is also iron. During the *bawa*, if one is possessed (particularly by Bhuiyan *deo*), he will pick up this chain and lash himself till the blood comes. If some person, possessed of an evil spirit, is brought before the shrine, and the *panda* in his trance recognizes the reality of the spirit possession, he will attempt to cast out the spirit by lashing the unfortunate man.

6. *Iron Nails*. Some bits of iron or iron nails are usually found somewhere about the shrine. These serve a dual purpose: they are tests for Khermai, and one possessed of her can stick them into his flesh without pain or discomfort. They are also used to frighten away evil spirits who may make a disturbance, and are sometimes flung in their direction causing them to fly away.

7. *A Bed of Spikes* (*Palna*). Often a bed of spikes is found in connection with these shrines. This too is to test spirit possession. 778 One possessed of Kali will seek to use the bed of spikes.

[777] 237 8. *A Ram's Horn* is sometimes found. It is lucky to have one and it protects the shrine.

● [354] 9. *Clay Lamps* (*Dip*). Clay dishes into which oil is poured and wicks attached are also found at all shrines. Sweet oil and incense are mixed, and during the time of worship two or three of these are lighted and kept burning. The *panda* lights and cares for them.

[789] 10. *Ashes* (*Rakha*). A pile of ashes is always found somewhere about the shrine. This is a good protective device against evil spirits.